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Ukrainians and the European War

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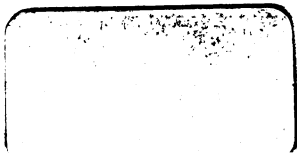
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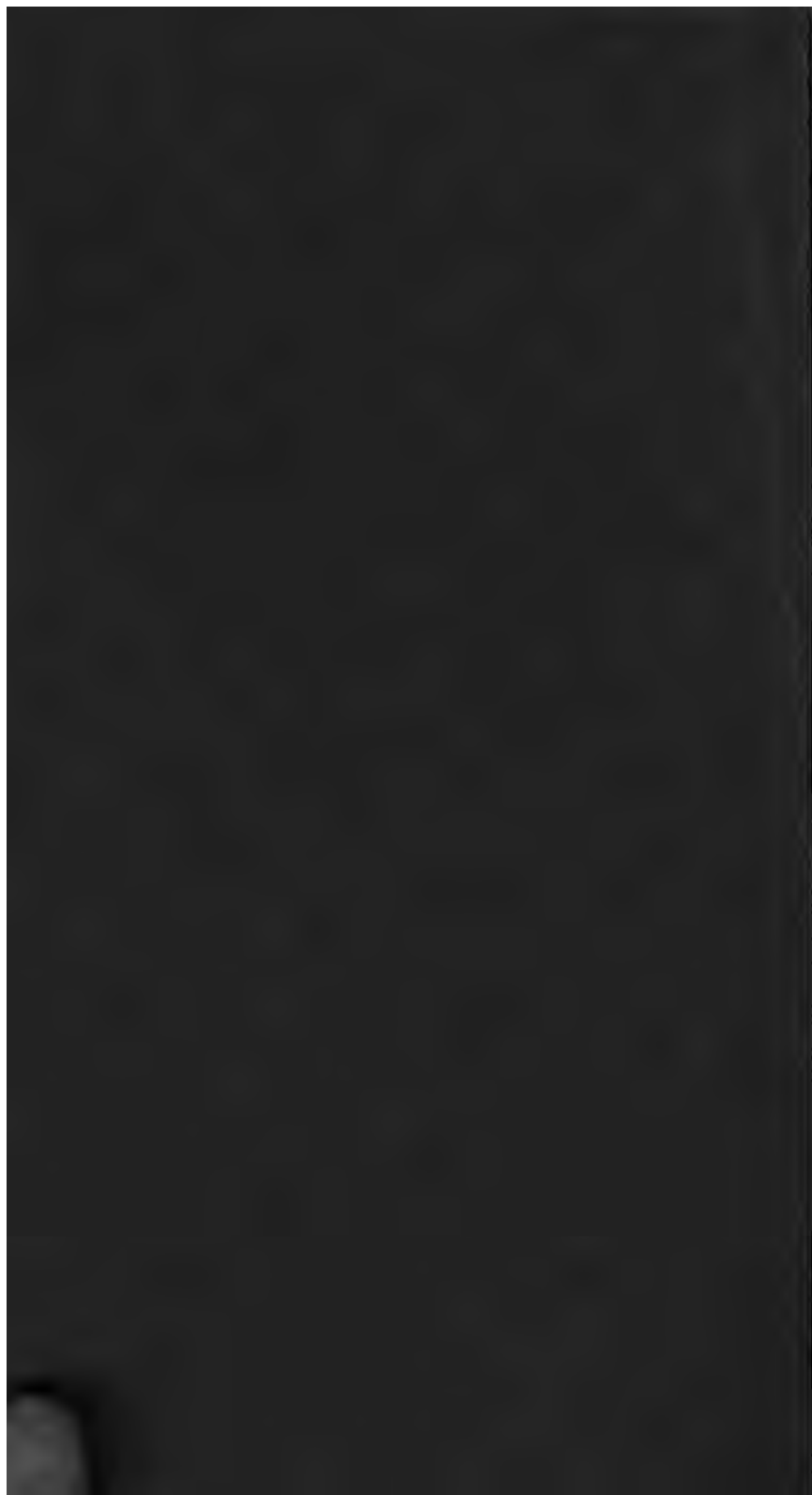


THE UKRAINIANS
—
IN THE
EUROPEAN WAR

BY
FRANCIS P. POLAKOFF



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THE UKRAINIANS
AND THE
EUROPEAN WAR.

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1915
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83 GRAND ST.

THE FORGOTTEN NATION OF EASTERN EUROPE.

(THE RUTHENIAN QUESTION).

The present European war will decide the fate of many nations, which formerly had their own independence but which has been lost to them by reasons made famous in history.

The Ukrainians, sometimes called Ruthenians are one of these nations. At the present time the war between Austria-Hungary and Russia is raging on the Ukrainian territory. It is evident that in such a war an interested people must raise their voice. For that reason the Ukrainians who have immigrated to United States cannot remain neutral, but they must of necessity be watching with the utmost interest the various incidents of war between Austria-Hungary and Russia. In the meantime the Ukrainians of this country are holding meetings and lectures in order to discuss this political situation and to prepare themselves for every necessity.

We therefore deem it essential that we give to the American people who are practi-

cally the only large, powerful, neutral nation some facts pertaining to our Ukrainian nation and its people.

The Ruthenians, Ukrainians, or "Little Russians," number at the present nearly 40,000,000 souls. They occupy the richest portion of the European continent. UKRAINE, RUTHENIA, or "LITTLE RUSSIA," is a compact geographical unit, which comprises practically the whole of the famous Black Soil Zone; it abounds in coal, iron and oil, and is the granary of Europe. As seen from the map below, which shows clearly enough the advantages of its position and its relative size, the territory is included between the Carpathian Mountains in the west, and the River Don and the Caucasus Mountains in the east; between the northern tributaries of the Dnieper, and the Black and Azov Seas.

Politically speaking, Ukraine of to-day is divided between Russia and Austria-Hungary; it is, however, still united in race, sentiment and aspirations, just, as in the past, it was also united in the political sense of the word. The map shows the extent of the Russian and of the Austro-Hungarian "spheres," and the frontier-line dividing them.

The Austro-Hungarian rule in Ruthenia-Ukraine, in its modern origin chiefly dates from 1795, or from the last partition of Poland. Of the same age is the Russian domination over the contiguous lands comprised between the Austro-Russian boundary and the banks of the River Dnieper. The Kingdom of Poland, at the time of the partitions, included those lands as its portion. They fell

under the Polish sway in consequence of the dismemberment of the Ruthenian Cossack Republic of the 17th-18th centuries, which was brought about by joint efforts of Russia and Poland. As to the eastern portion of the lands of that Republic, those that spread beyond the Dnieper, they were in uninterrupted connection with Russia (or, to use the proper terminology: Muscovy) from an earlier date, namely since 1654, or the year which saw the conclusion of an Alliance between Bohdan Chmelnicki, the Hetman of Ukraine, and Alexis Michaelowitz, the Czar of Muscovy. This Alliance marked one of the most momentous events in the career of that Republic set up in 1648 and finally broke up at the end of the 18th century, when the last remnant of it, the Zaporogian Sietch, was abolished by the Ukase of the Empress Catharine The Great. The Republic was borne out of a revolt of the Ruthenians against the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, under whose sceptre they lived for some two and a half centuries previously to the event; it has been a case of re-assertion, on their part, of their national independence which they so fatally lost during the 14th century when their country was simultaneously harassed on all sides by the Tartars, Poles and Lithuanians. The period of national life between the 9th and the 14th centuries, is still looked back upon, across the dividing gulf of nearly six centuries, as the Golden Age. Ruthenia then was the largest, and, probably, the most civilized among the countries of Europe. Its relations with Spain, India, Persia, Egypt, Constantinople — in short with East, West,

North and South, were numerous and important. Enemies feared the Ruthenian warrior, and the name of the country was famed throughout the world.

In language, they are related to other Slavonic peoples, just as Latin or Germanic peoples are related among themselves. The Ruthenian language stands in about the same relation to Russian and Polish, as Italian to French and Spanish, or German to Norwegian and Dutch.

In religion the Ruthenians are divided into four main classes: the Orthodox, who form the vast majority (about 34 millions); the Greek-Catholics, who used to be very numerous, but, having been subjected to much persecution, have dwindled down to 5,000,000; their stronghold is Galicia. The Protestants are to be found chiefly in the Russian part of the country, where, since the establishment of religious toleration, they are spreading almost unhindered. The Roman-Catholics are mostly found among the members of the old aristocracy.

In temperament, the Ruthenians are curiously representative of both the South and the North, and West and the East, combining stubbornness and endurance with a vivid imagination and a love of the beautiful. They are possessors of a remarkably rich and varied folklore; their songs are famous; they still recently made formidable fighters; they are now achieving a splendid progress in the fields of industry and commerce.

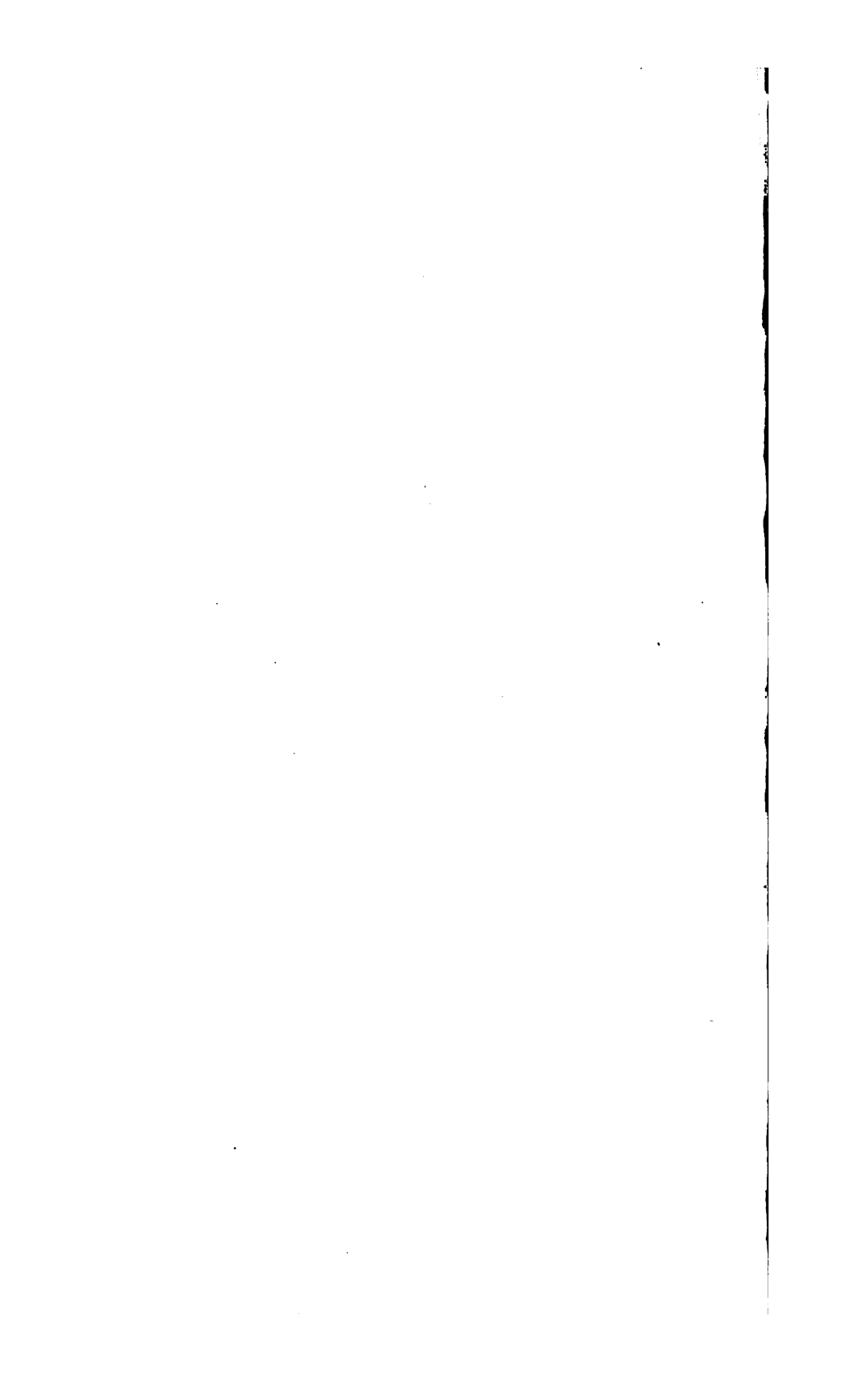
The Ukrainians were often praised by foreigners for their excellent physique; they average 5-ft. 10 and 6-ft., and some of the

picked regiments of Russia and Austria-Hungary are formed exclusively of Ruthenian recruits. Of late years, owing to unfavorable influences of the international market upon the Ruthenian economic life, extensive emigration of agricultural workers set in. A couple of millions of them have left the country and settled in Asiatic Russia, U. S. A., Canada, Brazil, and the Argentine. Hundreds of thousands go yearly to Germany as season laborers.

There are living in the United States about 1,000,000 Ukrainians and in Canada about half a million. They are mostly laborers (especially miners), farmers and retail businessmen.

In spite of this division between these two countries and notwithstanding the fact that these people have had for a long time no national freedom, they have raised with their own power and by almost superhuman deprivation their own literature, science, educational and economical institutions.

The part of Ukraine which at the time of division of the country was allotted to Austria, has enjoyed to some extent its national life and in spite of every hard and trying circumstances these people for the last 60 years were able to attain their proper place among the other nationalities of Austria. After developing their literature and science the Ukrainians daily discussed the erection of a university at Lemberg. This question had been almost realized when the war unexpectedly intervened and prevented its accomplishment. After the development of their literature and science followed their



THE UKRAINIANS
IN
EUROPEAN WAR.

BY
ALEXANDER H. LEITCH



NEW YORK
1915

THE CONQUEST OF GALICIA.

By George Raffalovich.

From time to time I have endeavored to keep "The New Age" readers acquainted with the progress of the Ukrainian revival. My friends are now passing through a period of anguish and sorrow. It is on their own soil and over their homes and fields that Russian and Austrian armies have been fighting from the first. They stand to-day a chance of being reunited to their fellow-Ukrainians of Russia. Now, the Ukraine ever had enemies, Muscovy, Turkey, Poland, Lithuania and the German hordes. The cession of Galicia, Bukovina and the Hungarian Carpathians would rid them of the Polish and the Teutonic rule. Turks and Lithuanians have long ceased to trouble them. There remains but one enemy—Russia. From racial and international, the problem becomes a national one. It is no less acute to the Ukrainians themselves.

Immediately upon the declaration of war against Russia, the Ukrainians created an organization which should correspond to the new circumstances. They intended to act at the frontier and in the nearest neighborhood of the first battle-grounds. It was confidently

expected that the Ukrainians on the other side of the frontier were making arrangements as well, in order to co-operate in the fight for the deliverance of the Ukrainian people from the Polish and Muscovite yoke. There lay the error. Nearly all the Ukrainian leaders of Russia were arrested on the first day; the rest were terrorised. The leading personalities of the Galician Ruthenians met at Lemberg. After short negotiations, they formed a common political organization of all Ruthenian parties, including even the Social-Democrats. The Central Ukrainian National Council stood as the embodiment of the Ukrainian aspirations and set itself the task of taking all necessary measures, and of making arrangements for the war against Russia. In its further consolidation this association of all the Ruthenian groups was to be extended, so far as to comprise all Ukrainians of all lands. The Central Ukrainian National Council placed itself in communication with the Ruthenian Rifle Association, which was formed eighteen months previously. It created with the help of these volunteers a general Ukrainian fighting body to which the Ruthenian Gymnastic-Body "Sitch" was joined. In a manifesto, all the Ukrainians able to bear arms were invited to enter the Rifle Association, and in every large Ruthenian community committees were formed in the short time available to gather the able-bodied men, prepare them for service and give them military equipment. At the same time they began with the collection of a war-fund to which from all circles of the Ukrainian population considerable sums were sent. According to

the scanty reports which were received at first from the Russian Ukrainians, the Russian Government did its utmost to put down the movement and arrested nearly all the Ukrainian leaders, especially in the southern part of the Ukraine did the Russian gendarmes play unmerciful havoc.

The body of volunteer Strieltzi raised by the Ukrainians was brought to a large figure. Even the Jews (but the Zionist Jews only) decided officially through their Central Organization in Lemberg to help materially and morally that free corps. Upon request, the Vienna Government decided to give the Ukrainian volunteer units army officers of Ukrainian nationality for cadres.

So much for the Ruthenian Pan-Slavism; so much for their hatred of the Teuton. Demoralized by Russians and Poles alike, they could hardly be—at least in Galicia—expected to show anti-Austrian feelings. Austria is not Prussia. If conquered in square battle, and if their lot is improved mentally and economically by their new masters, then the Ruthenians will no doubt prefer the new regime. They could not, however, have been expected in June, 1914, to long for the date of their fellow Ukrainians of Russia.

A whole issue of "The New Age" would not suffice to correct the misstatements which have appeared in the English Press since the beginning of the war concerning Galicia and my unfortunate Ukrainian friends, many of whom are now being shot down or imprisoned by the Russian troops for no other reason than their respect for their oaths of loyalty to the Austrian Emperor. What makes it so

vivid to me is that I have just come back from Lemberg, after a three months' visit to Eastern Galicia. That visit I did not pay alone, but with three Englishmen, reinforced on one or two occasions by three others. Their names and addresses are at the disposal of anyone who doubts my veracity or ability to diagnose. To-day we read of Ruthenians fraternizing with the Russian troops, of Hungarian troops being placed behind the Ruthenian soldiers to shoot them down if they refuse to march. We hear of the rejoicings of the population of Lemberg at the capture of their town. Who can have rejoiced therein but the Poles, of whom, after my visit to Galicia, I am ready to believe anything, and the political scum of the Ruthenians? Who would rejoice? The thousands of volunteers — all Slavs, mind you—whom I saw drilling in order that they could march into Russia to deliver their Ukrainian brothers from stifling oppression? The intellectuals of the nation, journalists who wrote every day what they thought of Russian rule, organizers of the peasants, the more progressive peasants themselves, and the nationalist professors. Would it be the most venerable and patriotic Archbishop of the Ruthenian Uniat Church? All the Ruthenians of Galicia are Uniats, but in Russian Ukraine that rite is suppressed, and its priests forbidden access to Russian territory. Would the dead rejoice in their graves? Hardly, when they may have to share the fate of Shevchenko, the great national poet of the Ukraine, whose tomb in Russia was this very year guarded by soldiers that the peasants should not approach it lest the remem-

brance of his life should lead them into "bad thoughts."

Three months ago I witnessed in Lemberg the festivities of the centenary of Shevchenko. That was on June 28, when Ukrainians gathered from all Galicia, from Hungary, Bukovina, and many also from Russian Ukraine. There was in the morning a procession of some twenty-eight thousand peasants, men and women in full national costume. One of the songs they sang was "Ne Pora"—"No longer shall we have to serve the Poles and Muscovites!" Another twenty thousand peasants watched them and sang with them. Thousands of others remained in their villages, but had celebrations of their own. Sokhols, Sitch, Sokholines, Scouts, Cossacks on horseback in ancient costumes; intelligentsia, peasants and peasant girls in rich native dress, Hutzuls, bands galore—all classes participated.

It was impressive to see the faith in the eyes of those people and to hear the surprised exclamations of those Ukrainian spectators who are too often prone to disparage, or to despair of their country and the future of their nation. There was order, organization, brains, behind this unexpected, large gathering, which I am convinced had a large bearing upon Russia's attitude before the war. It was time to act or lose her last chance of taking Galicia.

In the afternoon we were invited to witness the sports. The Stathalter, or viceroy of Galicia, himself a Pole, yet presided over the display of gymnastics and athletics. Suddenly a telegram was handed to him. He was seen

to sigh and to speak to his neighbor, the leader of the Ukrainian Party in Parliament. For half an hour, already, curious whispers were heard on all sides. Slowly the Viceroy rose and disappeared in his motorcar. Then the news filtered through the assembly of some thirty thousand people.

The greatest tragedy that could happen to the Ukrainians had taken place. The Heir Apparent, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, had been foully murdered by the Servians — a nation expert at the game, at the instigation of a certain unofficial Russian clique. He was almost the only friend the Ukrainians had around the Emperor. His noble dreams of a Triple Monarchy, Germans, Hungarians and Slavs, each holding their own, was still-born. Well could the Russians say — as they wrote the next day—to their Ukrainian subjects: "Your Czar is dead! Now ours is coming."

By the express desire of the Stathalter the games went on, but the heart was not in them. Everyone felt oppressed by a dread which we are now helping to foster. The London Press may advocate the floating of the Russian flag in this country. Let the Union Jack wave martially side by side with it—to commemorate the final descent into the grave of a nation of forty million men.

The present war is perhaps a just war, it is certainly a necessary one. But must the Ukrainians pay for Prussian misdeeds? There is no lack of patriotism in proclaiming one's opinion that we have not acted squarely by Austria before the war. Austria had a case and we could have held Russia back. Let her

defend Belgium, by all means, although England was once described in Europe, and not without some basis of truth, as the champion treaty-breaker. At all events, during the last two years we have most respectably sat upon one treaty and two conventions with apparently no qualms of conscience. Right or wrong, England still! Moreover, I cannot admit that we are the worst offenders in that direction. Russia is the champion pledge-breaker. Pledges to Poland, to the Ukraine, to Finland—there are many still unredeemed on the Statute Book of the Empire. We are now fighting for the destruction of Prussian hegemony and it was time we did. But we must not believe that Russia if fighting for us, nor need we force ourselves into the belief that her Government has suddenly undergone a change for the better. It has not. Unless we guarantee the rights of all small nationalities, the promises of Russian Czars and Grand Dukes are not worth the price we must pay for the London rags that extol them. For the sake of the Russian peasant and of Russian civilization we must insist and persist. We must do it also because it is just what we should and because we owe it to our Canadian Ruthenians. The British Empire will never be the same again. A new era will follow the war when labor will be aristocratized, or else the scaffold will know the reason why. If we cease to lick the Muscovite boot and treat the Russians from to-day as men who are our allies, our friends, but who need to hear the truth now and then, we will also avoid the necessity for them to set up the guillotine.

(„New Age“, London, September 17. 1914)

The menace of the great bear.

Russia and the Ruthenians — A Phase of Pan-Slavism.

By Alexander von Nuber,
Austro-Hungarian Consul General.

It is safe to assume that most of our readers are unaware that the Ruthenians, or Little Russians as the Russians christened them, or Ukrainians as they style themselves, are a people numbering 40 millions. The Western World hardly suspected the existence of this nation, which ranks second among the Slav; the Ruthenians have been moved to a more prominent place in European politics lately, their future destiny being one of the main causes of the present war.

Of the 40 millions of Ruthenians, more properly called Ukrainians, about four millions live in Eastern Galicia and half a million in Upper Hungary, whereas, more than 35 millions are at home in Southern Russia, in the fertile plains stretching from both banks of the Dnieper to the Don and

the Black Sea. As far back as the tenth century Ukraina was a mighty country, and its capital, Kiev, then was the largest, wealthiest and the most advanced city in Eastern Europe. In those days Western Europe fully realized the Ukrainian rulers' power, foreign rulers sought their friendship, Prince Volodymir Monomach was married to Harold's, the Saxon King of England's daughter, Gytha, and his daughter, Anne, became Queen of France. After the destruction of their flourishing country by the invading Tartars, the Ukrainians came under Lithuanian, the Polish and finally Russian domination.

Russia was quick to realize that, were the national civilization of such a large population occupying the most fertile parts of the empire allowed to subsist, this would ever be a source of danger for herself. It was, therefore, decided to de-nationalize the Ukrainians, and drastic, unscrupulous were the methods applied to this end. The very existence of the nation was denied, its language was summarily decreed to be the „Little Russian dialect” and was prohibited in schools and official life. Not content with this, official Russia prohibited the printing of Ukrainian texts, even of prayer books.

The total suppression of national existence which threatened the Ukrainians was happily averted when a

fraction of them came under Austrian rule as a consequence of Poland's partition. With the constitutional freedom granted by Austria the Ukrainians in that country were enabled to maintain and develop their national existence and culture. Ukrainian schools and colleges were founded, beside many national clubs or associations for upholding the people's economic and ideal interests. Ukrainian was officially recognized as the country's language, and acts were passed in the local county councils and parliament safeguarding Ukrainian rights. The people were inaugurating a national "renaissance," their culture and literature were once more going ahead, the Austrian Government, well appreciating the situation, had agreed last year to the establishment of an Ukrainian University in Lemberg.

The national resurrection of the Ukrainians, though materially confined to Austria, had a moral affect far beyond the Russian borders. Comparing their lot with that of their happier fellow countrymen in Austria, the Ukrainians in Russia gave signs of unrest, and Russia had to realize that her yoke was unbearable to the people who looked to Galicia as to their „Piemont.”

The Ukrainian aspirations were not passed unnoticed by the watchful Russian officials who quickly perceived that a new threat was arising to their

Government's despotism; nationally enlightened Ukrainians would not willingly submit to Russian oppressive rule and would even attempt to free themselves.

Official Russia then declared that the annexation of Galicia was the safest course to take in order to offset the threatening danger. When this would be achieved, the time-honored Russian „a la Cosaque” methods would nip in the bud the resurrecting Ukrainian culture. These official Russian views were disseminated in periodicals and at public meetings. As long as a powerful Austria stood in the way, such theories could be advanced in speech and print, but they could not be put into practice. Since annexation by violence was not possible, one had to resort to other means.

The Ukrainian “renaissance” was declared by official Russia to be but a malicious invention of the Austrian Government, nay, the very existence of Ukrainians in Galicia was flatly denied, and the Ukrainians were described by Petersburg as Russians, brothers who were subject to utterly intolerable religious and national oppression! The Petersburg Government gave its financial support to the recently launched “Russian-Galician Society” and “Slav Benevolent Society,” both inspired by Count Bobrinski with the sole object of promoting Russian political agitation in

Galicia. In this campaign, which started both on educational and religious lines, the chief Russian weapon was — the Ruble.

At first Galicia was flooded by Russian emissaries; these “agents provocateurs” were entrusted with the “disaffection mission” of the poorer class of peasants who were to be promised a free hand in the partition of the dominial estates and the robbing of the Jews, once the Czar would have conquered the country. Numbers of these poor peasant’s children were taken to Russia, there to be educated in convents to be fit agitators for the Russian Orthodox Church (the Ukrainians in Galicia are members of the Roman Catholic Church, though they have retained Greek rites); once their education completed, the “students” were sent back to Galicia with sufficient funds and with order to agitate and also to act as military spies, as the prosecutions in Marmaros Szigeth and Lemberg have amply disclosed.

Free boarding schools for poor peasant’s sons were founded with Russian funds, the educational work being carried on in accordance with Russian aims. Galicia was flooded with Russian anti-Austrian literature, the prayer books containing prayers for the Czar, and the Russian benefactors gave all these good things free, without wanting anything in return! Even certain English newspapers were in-

fluenced so far as to publish accounts of "the unparalleled oppression of the Russians in Galicia," the authors being Bobrinski and also J. W. Birkbeck, an Englishman acting as Russia's agent for England. Bobrinski did not shrink from going to Galicia and there to speak in terms which should, had the Austrian authorities concerned not been too lenient for peace's sake, have led him to detention for political crimes. Attempts were also made to persuade the Austrian Government through diplomatic channels that peace with Russia could be maintained only if the Russian agitation in Galicia were tolerated; at the very time Petersburg's bureaucrats declared Galicia would soon be ripe for picking.

Inasmuch as public opinion exists in Russia it was carefully prepared and familiarized with the idea that war with Austria is unavoidable, and that Galicia must be annexed. This policy was succinctly expressed by Bobrinski's characteristic exclamation: "We shall not rest ere the Russian flag flies on the Carpathians!" To bring war about, and at the same time to conceal her aggressive policy, Russia started the anti-Austrian campaign in Servia. The unsuspecting reader might fancy that Russia's attitude in backing Servia is the outcome of a sincere feeling of Slav solidarity, but the initiated knew perfectly well that Russia could reach Lemberg best by way of Belgrade.

Let us finally consider what was the Ukrainians' attitude when this was started. From the very first minute it was well defined and un-animously supported: "We shall fight for freedom and Austria." Immediately hostilities began, numerous Ukrainian volunteer companies took the field against Russia, their archbishop in Lemberg, Count Sheptycki, having devoted his entire fortune to this purpose. The archbishop has already been made prisoner and sent to Russia, where he shall have to answer for his unswerving patriotism. Count Sheptycki will be one of the many noble victims of a just cause; the Ukrainians will hold his memory in high esteem and honor.

It is to be anticipated that the hopes of his enduring and cultured nation will be fulfilled at an early date. Western civilization would fare all the better by it.

[The „Fatherland“, October 21, 1914].



THE WAR IN GALICIA.

Sir,—It was not without cause that I protested against the exaggerated importance given by the London Press to the reports of Russian victories. Much as I hope in the victory of the French and Belgian troops, with the help of the British, I am less happy at the Russian advance. In the words of one of the members of the Russian Duma, who was arrested and court-martialled recently, "the lesser evil would be a Russian defeat". I am well content to leave it at that in so far as Russian Russia is concerned. The lie is thus given bluntly to the knaves who would have us believe that all is well in Russia to-day. All is not well. Political terrorism has not abated anywhere in the whole of the Empire. Our unfortunate and gallant Allies are the worst governed nation of the whole world.

Well, terrorism has begun in Galicia. And I am going to prove it with no other information than that given

by the Petrograd correspondents of our leading newspapers. If their sub-editors were not hopelessly overworked and ignorant mortals they would see to it that such information is withheld from us, as they know so well how to withhold it usually. To one who knows Galicia and the Ukraine, they afford damning evidence. I was much surprised, for instance, on December 5, to read a certain paragraph in the "Evening Standard." It had a heavy headline, "Horrors in Galicia." The sub-editor, to be sure, must have thought the horrors were caused by the Huns, the "blonde beasts." He was mistaken. The Russians are in possession. By the way, the Muscovites contain in their ranks a much larger quantity of fair people than any army in the world. But to the information: "The Archbishop of Przemishl has arrived here after enduring great sufferings... Speaking of the situation in Galicia, his grace said that all his efforts to communicate with other Latin or Greco-Ruthenian Catholic bishops were vain, and the reports circulating about their condition most alarming."

With my knowledge of the Ruthenian question and of Galicia, these are my conclusions. The archbishop has gone to Rome to complain to the Pope about the conduct of the Russians in Eastern Galicia. **The River San divides Galicia in two parts, Eastern Ukrainian, Western Polish. They are as two**

worlds. The Eastern part, which is the only one with which I am concerned, and, roughly speaking, the part which the Austrian Government, under Prussian pressure, was compelled to evacuate before the Russian invasion, is populated by Ukrainians, or Ruthenians. These are, in a proportion of 97 per cent., Greco-Catholics in religion. The Archbishop of Lemberg, Mgr. **Count Sheptizskyj**, is the Metropolitan. He belongs to a family older than that of the Habsburgs, and, if wealthy, at least as charitable and open-handed as rich. He is not unknown in this country and has been in Canada and the States to study the conditions of his folk who have emigrated there. Knowing the misery and the sufferings of the Ukrainians of Galicia, he did his best to group them together and took full advantage of the Nationalist revival to effect that purpose. No Radical was ever too radical for him. Ten years ago the Russian Government authorized all religions in the Empire, with one exception, i. e., **the Greco-Catholic Church**, the only Church which it had any cause to fear. When the Russian armies approached Lemberg the Archbishop was urged to leave, but he refused. He was arrested and taken to Kiev. Scores of priests and nationalist peasants followed him. Russian "missionaries" were sent to Eastern Galicia. The new Governor was a certain **Count Bobrinsky**, a cousin of that most notorious and in-

famous Count Vladimir Bobrinsky, the corrupter of the Galician peasants, the arch-enemy of the Ukrainians of Russia, perhaps the politician who is the most entirely devoid of scruple in the whole of Russia, a descendant (by Catharine II) of one of the Orloffs. He was promptly appointed by his cousin to supervise "relief". That is exactly what he had been doing for several years. The Byzantine meaning of the word "relief" is well known. I repeat, all my information for recent facts is taken from the London Press. **Over 400,000 Ruthenian refugees fled to Vienna and to Hungary.** This shows how delighted the Ukrainians must be at the Russian advance. They inhabit also part of Hungary, around the Carpathian Passes. As a correspondent of the "Morning Post" informed us, "it was not the military that drove the Russians back, but the peasants, with scythes and revolvers." In this fashion did they welcome the Cossacks, who, by the way, burned every house and haystack as they withdrew, leaving the churches standing. Was that in derision?

The Bobrinsky clique used, before the war which is their greatest achievement, to boast that there was no such thing as a Ruthenian language, that it was pure Russian. Yet it read in the "Star" of November 23 that **"the Russians are organizing five educational centres in Eastern Galicia at which Galician professors will receive**

instruction in the Russian language''. The truth is that a decently educated Russian who knows well another Slav language besides his own can rapidly learn Ukrainian, that any Slav who speaks two Slav languages can learn a third one in a few weeks. This fact does not make the Serbs, the Slovacks, or the Bulgarians members of the Russian (happy?) family. **Why should the Ukrainians be thus chosen? It is, of course, because they number nearly forty million and occupy the richest territory of the Russian Empire.**

Well, let the Russians burn houses, convert the Ukrainians, and teach their own language. Let them even, as they are doing, arm and enrol by force the population of the conquered territory. We have, for the present, no control over our apparently much-needed Allies. **But when the peace negotiations are in progress, do we intend to allow Russia to annex to her Empire a population that is not of her own blood, even though it may be of the same blood as her 35,000,000 subject Ukrainians? The Bulgarian Government has, I understand, promised to support the Ukrainian claims. If we object to them, we shall be committing a crime, although very likely one of ignorance on our part. If the crime is perpetrated and we allow England's signature to be affixed to the treaty that enslaves another few million Ukrainians, hitherto comparatively free, then I honestly hope that hund-**

reds of people in the British Empire will help and facilitate the revolution which will follow sooner or later in the whole of the Ukraine. In the meantime, is it too much to ask the United States Government and that of Canada to facilitate the emigration of those Ukrainians who prefer to seek freedom of conscience and of language as far afield as possible from the tentacles of the Muscovite octopus?

George Raffalovich.

(„New Age“, London, December 17. 1914).



PROTEST OF THE UKRAINIANS.

Russia is taking advantage of the prevailing unsettled conditions of her transient occupation of East Galicia, with its capital, Lemberg, and the northern part of Bukowina, above all else, to destroy the Ukrainian Nation during this focus of its present development, to undermine the foundations of this development, and to exterminate the Ukrainian Element.

In a protest, published three weeks ago, by the Ukrainian Representation of Parliament, this act of violence which was perpetrated by Russia against the religious liberty of the Ukrainian people in Galicia of the Greek-Catholic United Church. This act of violence was immediately followed by a second, more brutal and criminal, because directed against the whole nation, against its holiest possessions, its highest achievements, and against the foundations of its existence.

Governor-General of War Lieut. Count Bobrinskij, appointed by the Russians for Galicia, issued a proclamation, on the thirtieth of September, 1914, in Lemberg, which was proclaimed also to be in force for Bukowina by the then Russian Governor Von Czernowitz Jewreinow.

This proclamation contains, in four parts, a statement, in which, under penalty of three months in prison or three thousand rubels fine, it is forbidden to sell or loan from the libraries those books which have appeared outside the Russian border in the Russian language or in the Ukrainian tongue, and at the same time ordered that all such books everywhere must be separately collected and suppressed.

Since no Russian books appeared in Galicia and in Bukowina before the Russian invasion, yet on the other hand the Ukrainian literature, bounded and forbidden in Russia, has since forty years ago developed almost exclusively in Galicia and Bukowina and its productions, above all, printed and spread abroad in the city of Lemberg, it is evident that these snaky statements are directed plainly and exclusively against the Ukrainians of these two provinces.

These statements indicate nothing else than a continuance of the policy of extermination which Russia maintained for centuries against the existence and continuance of the Ukrainian

nation, the same policy which induced Russia's ruler in the year 1680 to prohibit the whole church literature in the Ukrainian language, and in the year 1720 all Ukrainian books whatever; in the second half of the eighteenth century during the time of Ukrainian autonomy to destroy the wonderfully developed Ukrainian school system and in the nineteenth century, to oppose the holy leaders, with brutal persecutions and unheard of repressions, which policy reached its zenith, in the year 1876 Czar Alexander II. in the Ukase which completely banned the Ukrainian word out of Literature, and from all public activity of church and school.

By this means, Russia aims to-day to introduce the same conditions in the transient-occupied territory, which became the home of the banished Ukrainian literature, and as the above-mentioned proclamation applied to the whole Ukrainian literature, proscribing every printed word without exemption, and also all Ukrainian school books from elementary instruction up to university studies, and also to church and prayer books; therefore, it has doubtless no other object than to destroy, at one blow, the whole religious life of the Ukrainians, all their achievements, all results of their most zealous efforts of the last decades in the field of literature, science school,

and church systems, and the entire Ukrainian religious culture.

Against this unheard of brutality, tending to the mockery and disgrace of the twentieth century, the continual oppression, which is even in gross contradiction of the point of view of the Academy of Science of Petrograd, which has expressly acknowledged the independence of the Ukrainian Nation and whose free development it took under its protection, in the name of Culture, the representatives of the Ukrainian Nation, raise a most solemn protest, in the name of the deeply wounded Ukrainian people.

We are thoroughly convinced that even these barbaric measures of Russia are unable to destroy the existence of our, so sorely tried nation, that the undying spirit of this nation, which during previous whole centuries of persecution and oppression on the part of "the liberator of slav brothers" was not broken, will in the present help to overcome these sad times and not bow before oppression.

The conduct of Russia against our nation, its hasty destructiveness, at a time and place, where it has no right to act or to decide, may give new evidence for the civilized world and for history, how the holiest of human rights are handled by this country, and

may add to the characteristic of the ethical foundations of that country.

Vienna, November, 1914.

For the Supreme Ukrainian National Council of Austria:

Dr. Kost Levytzkyj, President,
Dr. Vladimir Bachynskyj, Secretary.

For the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representatives:

Sr. Nikolai von Wassilko,
Dr. Eugen Petrushevych,
Dr. Eugen Olesnytzkyj,
Dr. Eugen Levytzkyj,
Sr. Vladimir von Singalevych,
Sr. Elias von Semaka.

For the Union of the Liberation of Ukraina:

Al. Skoropyss-Sholtukhovsky,
Vladimir Doroshenko.



THE UKRAINE AND THE SMALL NATIONS.

Let me make one more attempt to bring before your readers the reality of the tragedy of the Ukraine. One does not expect much from Mr. T. P. O'Connor, but his last dictum, that we are fighting the cause of the small nationalities, makes sad reading to me. It is so utterly untrue. While we are fighting, two nations at least are being crushed to death by Russia. Finland is moribund and the Ukraine movement loses its Piedmont. I am only concerned with the latter case because of the tremendous spiritual and intellectual possibilities I believe to lie in a free Ukraine.

Dr. Dillon, in the "Telegraph," assured us that the Ruthenians were Russians at heart. I know that is contrary to the truth. It is so much easier to take the word of Russian Nationalist journalists. Others like Mr. Wells would probably assert that there is a Ukraine, but that it is a Hapsburg babe, suckled by that ideal wet-nurse, Prussia.

It is useless to say that the Little Russians are Russians, unless you concede at the same

time that the Russians are not Russians. Let me explain. The word Rusj was used centuries ago to describe the inhabitants of the Ukraine. Muscovy absorbed them later on, and the name of Muscovy was dropped and that of Rossia, a very similar one, adopted for the whole. If you ask a Ukrainian what he is he will use the word Rusjky to describe his language and Rossiysky for that of the Great Russian.

Another argument is that the Ukrainians are happy as they are. Yes, so did the seventeenth century landlords say that the peasants of France were pleased to be treated as cattle. But they were not and proved it. That is the great trouble of the Ukraine. It is a criminal offence in the Russian Ukraine to teach the Ukrainian language. Letters addressed in Ukrainian are not delivered. Only the worst and least moral of Ukrainians will accept to teach Russian to their pupils, and the whole population is thus gradually demoralized. But the great-little Wellses go to Russia, others of the same water go to Galicia, they question, being strangers, the only people they can question, an ambitious priest, a dissatisfied official, a land-owner of Polish or Jewish or Muscovite race, or a few peasants; carefully selected by their guide, in carefully selected districts. They see a pretty village, prosperous-looking farmers and their rosy-faced children. That is a pleasant change after dreary Muscovy. But these strangers never have the opportunity of seeing below the crust. They never realize the stifling oppression; they cannot even imagine the inarticulate aspirations. I do not imagine them; I know them, and after months of hard and,

I can assure you, wholly disinterested work on their behalf, I have been able to reach the heart of those Ukrainians of Russia who dared speak. I have spoken with scores of them, poor and rich. The Ukrainian peasant is fond of his land, he thinks of the hated Muscovite as of a thief who stole his birth-right, who forbids him to use his own tongue, who sets spies upon him, even orthodox priests themselves, to discover his secret cache where he keeps the much-fingered books in the Ukrainian tongue. He may be articulate, he may hate the Prussians as much as he hates the Poles, but he does not wish to be absorbed by the Muscovite, the get-all-and-get-on-at-all-cost Muscovite.

The truth is that you people of England do not believe in your hearts in the rights of small nationalities. Only the Irish and, perhaps, the Welsh do that. When it suits you, you take up the dear oppressed peoples. When it does not, you turn a deaf ear to their claims. The English love for the weak is a piece of arrant humbug a la Gladstone.

Take the Belgian case. The violation of Belgium as an argument used against Germany is weak. We know very well that Prussia will not retain Belgium after the war, even though Sir Roger Casement and the Albanians are said to have sided with the Kaiser. We have had a good deal of evidence showing that the Belgian Government and ours knew long ago that Germany had altered her war plans to fit in with the Franco-Russian alliance and meant to pass through Belgium willy-nilly. Yet, afflicted by our foolish tolerance of the pacifists we, and the Belgians, failed to act. We did not foil Ger-

many's plan. Sir Edward Grey failed to assert in Parliament that we would always protect Belgian territory by force of arms, and brave Frenchmen and Englishmen are now paying the penalty.

Let us for ever drop this silly prattle about helping small nations. We allow Russia, our ally, who depends to-day on our staff officers for the brains of her army and on our Chancellor of the Exchequer and our German-Jewish financiers for several million pounds monthly, to establish her Government (save the mark) over Europeans who are not Russians. I am very sorry for the trustful Poles. Neither Poles nor Ukrainians are Russians. There were no Russians in Galicia pace Dr. Dillon, with the exception of "agents provocateurs," before the war. My English friends and I never heard of any others. Does Russia propose to hand back Bessarabia and lower Bukovina to Roumania, or the Baltic Provinces to Germany? Why should not Italy wish to take the Ticino canton from Switzerland, the Nice district from France, as well as the Trentino and Triest from Austria? Why should Russia take Armenia? This is another indiscreet question, is it not? To all these the answer is the same. Any European diplomacy that is strong and cunning enough to get the soldiers of other nations to do their bidding will always reap the benefits. A nation must remain strong in order to hold her conquests. It will ever be so. Will there be anyone in England who will be perverse enough to advise disarmament after this war on the plea that all is well with the small nationalities? Prussian rule is in our way and we must smash it, but

there are other Prussians in the making. Whenever they oppress other small nationalities it will be like the case of the Ukraine.

Our ears will be closed, our eyes will be shut. What the Ukrainians need is a friendly statesman with two million bayonets behind him. This they will never get from England until it suits England's book. Cease then to rave about chivalry. Do not insult our intelligence by prating about the sacred cause of smaller nationalities. Or else help them all alike!

George Raffalovich.

(The New Age, London, January 14, 1915).



HOPES OF LITTLE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA.

(Many small nationalities under the Czar's rule long for their freedom—Significance of these ethnographic differences in the present war).

By DR. S. M. MELAMED.

INDEPENDENCE THEIR DREAM.

While the Allies' fleet is bombarding the Dardanelles and the Russians are on their way to invade Turkish territory from another side, with the object of capturing Constantinople, emissaries of many small nationalities in the Russian Empire have taken their headquarters in the Turkish capital, to be in touch with the Turkish Government. I have been officially informed that one emissary from Ukraina (Little Russia), two emissaries from the Caucasus, and two from the Crimean Peninsula have been sent to Constantinople to induce the Turkish Government to look after the interest of these oppressed nations when peace is to be concluded. TALAAT BEY, SO AN UKRAINIAN FRIEND TELLS ME, HAS RECEIVED THE UKRAINIAN

EMISSARIES, TWO RUSSIAN SUBJECTS, AND PROMISED THEM ON BEHALF OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT THAT TURKEY WILL SPARE NO EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UKRAINIANS. AN INDEPENDENT UKRAINA! UKRAINA FORMS THE THIRD PART OF THE EUROPEAN RUSSIAN EMPIRE, AND IS THE RICHEST AND MOST FERTILE PART OF RUSSIAN SOIL. IF UKRAINA IS INDEPENDENT, RUSSIA AS A EUROPEAN POWER CAN NO LONGER EXIST.

But the Ukrainians are not the only ones among the many little nationalities in Russia who long for national freedom and independence. In the west of the Empire there are the POLES, LITHUANIANS, and LETTS. Further north there are the FINNS. In the heart of Russia itself there are the WHITE RUSSIANS (Bielo Russki), a Slavonic tribe, comprising ten million souls, who are dreaming of tribal or national liberty, and in the Caucasus and the Crimean Peninsula there are more than half a dozen little nationalities, like the ARMENIANS, GEORGIANS, many MOHAMMEDAN tribes, etc., who are striving either to reestablish their old national sovereignty or to establish a new one, because they are none too happy under the Russian rule.

ETHNOGRAPHIC STATISTICS.

Taking a superficial conspectus of the Russian Empire, we see that the Russian people themselves are surrounded on nearly all sides by either non-Slavonic nations, as is

the case in the Caucasus, or by foreign nationalities of the Slavonic race, who still live their own tribal or national life, and who yearn for a separation from Russia. A few years ago the Russian Home Office published ethnographical statistics of the Russian Empire, which go to show that altogether not less than 42 foreign tribes and nationalities are living within the realm of the Czar.

In the West and Northwest the foreign nationalities are much superior in civilization and culture to the Russians themselves. The Poles, for instance, are certainly more refined in culture than the Russians. Even the Lithuanians have more and greater culture and traditions than the Russians themselves. The Finns have produced a wonderful system of civilization and they consider themselves much superior to the Russians. In spite of the fact that they have been oppressed by Russia for the last two decades, they nevertheless succeeded in preserving the system of national education, and have cultivated literature, science, and art. Helsingfors, geographically so near to Petrograd, resembles a Teutonic city much more than a Russian one.

In the Baltic provinces the German nobility and the Lettic people are also superior to the Russian nobility and to the Russian peasantry.

But still, all these nationalities do not form a majority, or, to be more exact, a considerable majority, in the Russian Empire. THE GREAT RUSSIANS (*Veliko Russki*), on the other hand, do form one united mass that is situated in the centre of the Empire, and that AIMS AT THE ASSIMILATION OF ALL

THE SMALL NATIONS AROUND THIS CENTRE. But it seems that the Great Russians are rather a centrifugal power, because the smaller nationalities are not greatly attracted by the Great Russians. And here the great historical tragedy sets in: The 70,000,000 Great Russians, who by sheer numbers are stronger than any other nations living within the Russian Empire, are eager not only to rule the other nations, but also wish to assimilate them. UP TO NOW, ALL ATTEMPTS TO ABSORB THESE SMALL NATIONS WERE IN VAIN, BECAUSE THE SMALL NATIONS ARE INTELLECTUALLY AND MORALLY MUCH STRONGER THAN THE RULING RUSSIANS.

The Russians, having failed to absorb and assimilate the small nations by moral, political, and intellectual means, have taken refuge in barbaric and despotic measures. IF THE RUSSIAN LITERATURE AND THE RUSSIAN CLERGYMEN FAILED TO ATTRACT THE SMALLER NATIONS, THE RUSSIAN KNOUT WAS THE LAST RESORT OF THE STATESMEN IN PETROGRAD AND MOSCOW. THE SMALLER NATIONALITIES WERE TO BE FORCED TO ABANDON THEIR SEPARATE NATIONALISM AND WERE TO BE MADE RUSSIANS. BUT EVEN THE RUSSIAN KNOUT WAS UNABLE TO BRING ABOUT THE RUSSIANIZING OF THE SMALLER NATIONALITIES.

REVOLUTION OF 1905.

Ten years ago this struggle between the Russians in the centre of the Empire and the small nationalities on the outskirts had already reached such dimensions that a catastrophe seemed to be the only possible outlet. What is really known in history as the Russian Revolution of 1905 was not really a revolution of the Great Russians against the Czar, but a revolution of the small Russian nationalities against their rulers.

The so-called liberal parties in Russia consist either of members of the small nationalities or of the new Russian proletariat that was created artificially by the policy of Count Witte; the so-called Constitutional Democrats represent a small section of the Russian intellectuals. The leaders are a few Europeanized intellectuals of the progressive wing of the Russian nobility. As a matter of fact, the revolution was overcome not so much by governmental reprisals as by the Russian inhabitants of the large cities, who are known by the name of Real Russian people. The title these dark masses have assumed bears out my statement, that the revolution of 1905 was a rebellion of the small nationalities against the ruling Great Russians. The victory the Great Russians have won by crushing the revolution has considerably strengthened their position and has given them a predominance to which they are scarcely entitled. They are much stronger to-day than they have ever been. One of the results of their victory was the rise of the Pan-Slavistic movement, which is one of the historic causes of the present European conflagration.

THE POLICY OF RUSSIANIZING THE SMALL NATIONALITIES WAS CARRIED OUT BY THE GOVERNMENT BEFORE THE REVOLUTION TOOK PLACE, WHILE NOW IT IS IN THE HANDS OF THE GREAT RUSSIANS.

The brutal policy of Russianizing was forced upon the Russian Government by the Duma. No Russian Cabinet would be able to remain in office for even a day if it had dared to oppose this Russianizing policy. The Government, naturally being a Government of the Great Russians, was but too ready to follow the lead of the Duma, knowing very well that the predominance of the Great Russians is simply identical with the predominance of conservatism and real Russian Czarism.

FAILURE OF REVOLUTION.

The failure of the revolution and the intense Russianizing policy that followed upon it so intimidated the smaller nationalities that they dared not utter even a whispered threat against their oppressors. The foremost revolutionary leaders were either executed or suffered banishment to Siberia or imprisonment for life, and the weaker elements were either intimidated or corrupted by the system of spying or of bribery or counter espionage. The foreign nations of the Empire were too weak and too frightened to resume the struggle. **THEY SILENTLY HOPED FOR A WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND A WESTERN POWER WHICH MIGHT RESULT IN A RUSSIAN DEFEAT AND IN A POSSIBLE DISMEMBERMENT OF**

THE EMPIRE. MEN WHO ARE ACQUAINTED WITH THE CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA HAD REASON TO HOPE THAT SOON AFTER THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR ALL THE OPPOSED NATIONS IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE WOULD RISE AGAINST THEIR OPPRESSORS AND HELP THE INVADER.

Many friends of these oppressed nations are greatly disappointed because they have not revolted. As far as the Poles and the Ukrainians are concerned, I have it from the best authority that everything was prepared for an uprising, but that the developments of military operations have prevented the realization of these plans. The explosion in the Warsaw Citadel and the revolutionary uprising in Odessa and in many other parts of the Ukraina during the first days of the war are not forgotten, and one also remembers a proclamation of the Grand Duke Nikola Nikolaevitch, in which he warns the Polish Sokols not to help the enemy under the treat of being court-martialled.

This is not a mere presumption of mine, but I know it from official Finnish, Polish, and Ukrainian personalities that all these respective nationalities had expected the Germans to invade Poland and occupy Warsaw in the early days of the war, and also proposed to invade Finland, WHILE THE AUSTRIANS WERE EXPECTED TO OCCUPY PARTS OF THE RUSSIAN UKRAINA IN THE FIRST WEEKS OF THE WAR. Had this taken place, the Poles, the Ukrainians, and the Finns would have openly declared their sympathy with the in-

vading liberator. But as the Russian forces prevented such an invasion, there was only one course open to them, viz., to remain silent.

TWO OF THE MORE IMPORTANT SLAVONIC NATIONS, THE POLES AND THE UKRAINIANS, HAVE SUFFERED A GREAT DEAL FROM THE NON-REALIZATION OF THEIR HOPES AND PLANS.

RUSSIAN POLES HELPED INVADERS.

As long as the Austrian forces were successful, while operating in the government of Lublin, the Russian Poles, at the advice of their co-nationalists in Austria, rendered great services to the invading army. But as soon as the fate of the battle turned in the favor of Russia, **THE SAME POLES TOOK UP THE CAUSE OF RUSSIA AGAINST AUSTRIA**, because they saw, or believed they saw, an Austrian defeat, while at the same time they had a solemn official promise from Russia that in case of a Russian victory, Polish national independence would be re-established under the sovereignty of the Czar. The same promise, of course, was made to them by Austria. **WITH THE VARIED RESULTS OF THE WAR, THE POLES CHANGED THEIR ATTITUDE ACCORDING TO THE IMPRESSIONS OF THE MOMENT**, with the sole result that they are considered traitors by the Russians as well as by the Austrians. **RUSSIA AS WELL AS AUSTRIA, WILL, AFTER THE WAR, FIND A THOUSAND REASONS, NOT TO KEEP THEIR PROMISE TO POLAND AND NO MATTER IN WHOSE FAVOR**

THE WAR ENDS, POLAND WILL BE ECONOMICALLY RUINED, NATIONALLY PARALYZED, AND POLITICALLY WEAKER THAN EVER.

In order to save what is still possible, the Poles in Russia are at present anxious to demonstrate their Russian patriotism, and in order to achieve this, **THEY DENOUNCE THE JEWS LIVING AMONG THEM AS GERMAN SPIES.** At first, they were successful with this policy and one of the Russian generals in Poland, Gen. Dimitschikoff, **ORDERED THE EXECUTION OF A FEW HUNDRED POOR POLISH JEWS, VICTIMS OF THE POLISH DENUNCIATIONS.** But to-day, even the Russians refuse to believe the Polish stories of Jewish treachery, and instead they are charging the Poles themselves with treachery to the Russian cause. That is at least the view taken to-day by the head of the Russian Black Hundred, Mr. Purishkevitch. **IN SHORT, THE POLES IN SEEKING THEIR OWN SALVATION, BETRAYED THE AUSTRIANS AS WELL AS THE RUSSIANS AND THEY ARE TO-DAY IN A MOST CRITICAL POSITION.** If Russia ever had any reason to fear the Poles, she has no reason to fear them to-day or even in the near future. **IN GALICIA, ALSO, THE FATE OF THE POLES WILL NOT BE VERY ENVIABLE. BECAUSE THE VIENNESE GOVERNMENT SAYS TO-DAY THAT THEY ARE CONVINCED OF THE POLISH TREACHERY.** The Austrian Government was compelled to dissolve the East-ern-Polish Legion—led by Count Skarbek—

consisting of 20,000 men, because this legion, although formed and armed by Austria, refused to take the oath of allegiance to Emperor Francis Joseph. But eight weeks ago hundreds of Polish officials in those parts of Galicia which are still controlled by Austria have been dismissed from their posts, and many of them were arrested on the suspicion of High Treason.

STRENGTH OF THE UKRAINIANS.

But the Poles, although the most gifted of all the Slavonic nations, are not the most dangerous opponents; **THE REAL DANGER TO PRESENT RUSSIA IS THE UKRAINIAN NATION.** They are forming a compact mass and numerically they are masters of the soil. **THEY ARE POLITICALLY AND NATIONALLY NOT WEAKENED AS ARE THE POLES, BECAUSE NINE-TENTHS OF THE PEOPLE ARE LIVING IN RUSSIA, WHILE ONLY ONE-TENTH ARE LIVING IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.** Had the whole Ukrainian people lived in Russia, they would form no danger to the Russian Empire, because they are in Russia a rather undeveloped peasantry, a huge immovable mass. Russia knew how to keep these people down and how to prevent their national development. **UNTIL 1905 THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE, A SLAVONIC IDIOM, WAS NOT OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED IN RUSSIA AS A SEPARATE LANGUAGE, AND THE PUBLICATION OF BOOKS IN THAT LANGUAGE OR THE IMPORTATION OF BOOKS FROM AUSTRIA WAS PROHIBITED.**

But, fortunately or unfortunately, over three millions of these "Little Russians" are living in Austro-Hungarian territory. In the course of a thirty years' struggle with the Poles in Galicia, the Ruthenians (the Ukrainians are so called in Galicia) have more or less succeeded in overcoming their Polish oppressors and in developing a system of national education and national political organization, which influenced their co-nationalists in the Russian Empire. The Austrian Government had proposed to erect a Ukrainian university in Galicia after they founded twelve Ukrainian gymnasia (high schools leading up to the university). For the last two decades intellectual and political life flourished among the Ruthenians in Galicia, and the Ruthenian agitators from Galicia went across the border and preached the theory of Ukrainian nationalism to the inhabitants of Russian Ukraina.

The Great Russians recognized the danger of this spread of Ukrainian nationalism in the Russian Ukraina, and they took immediate steps to stop it. For the last ten years Pan-Slavistic agitators travelled from village to village in Galicia to preach Pan-Slavism and Greek Orthodoxy to the Ruthenians. When this influence failed, they resorted to bribery, and the Russian ruble greatly attracted the poor Ruthenian peasant. Thus the so-called Russophile party came into existence in Galicia. Of course, the Galician Poles were very glad to see the Ruthenian opposition weakened by its being split up into parties.

THE PAN-POLES IN GALICIA, WHO ARE THEMSELVES RUSSOPHILES,

ACTUALLY HELPED THE RUSSIAN EFFORTS AMONG THE RUTHENIANS.

After ten years' work in making propaganda and stirring up agitation among the Ruthenians in Galicia, the Russians thought that they had succeeded in winning over the majority of the Ruthenians to their cause. Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevitch, the Russian Generalissimus, when arriving at the head of his troops in Lemberg, telegraphed to the Czar: "The Austrian danger has been overcome." What he meant to say is very clear. Russian rule in the east of Galicia, which is inhabited by Ruthenians, would kill Ukrainian nationalism and thus prevent the further development of Ukrainian nationalism in the Russian Empire. But it seems to me that Nikolai Nikolayevitch was greatly mistaken. Only a small percentage of Ruthenian peasantry could be won over to the Russian cause. **THE BULK OF THE RUTHENIANS IN GALICIA STILL CONSIDER RUSSIA THEIR MOST DANGEROUS ENEMY. THE RUTHENIAN INTELLECTUALS DID NOT WAIT FOR THE ARRIVAL OF THE RUSSIAN TROOPS IN GALICIA; THEY FLED TO VIENNA, FROM WHERE THEY ARE CONTINUING THE EFFORTS IN FAVOR OF ESTABLISHING AN INDEPENDENT UKRAINA.** There exists to-day in Vienna a "Ukrainischer Nationalrat," represented by Ukrainians (Ruthenians) from Galicia, Russia and Hungary. **THE "UKRAINISCHER NATIONALRAT" IS ON THE BEST TERMS WITH THE VIENNESE GOVERNMENT, AND I UNDERSTAND THAT THE VIENNESE**

GOVERNMENT HAS PLEDGED ITSELF TO HELP TO ESTABLISH EITHER AN AUTONOMOUS OR AN INDEPENDENT UKRAINA, SHOULD AUSTRIA EMERGE VICTORIOUSLY FROM THE WAR.

The FINNS, a cultured people with wonderful traditions, have not entered into relations with any foreign Government, and have preserved a neutral attitude during the whole crisis, knowing very well that as long as Russia is not beaten, it would be foolish for them to entertain any hopes of national liberation. The opinion taken by leading Finns is that their independence will come naturally as soon as Russia is positively either defeated or exhausted. But should she be victorious, the great Russian oppressors will have no occasion to charge them with treachery.

As far as the JEWS are concerned, I am able to state that, although they have been caught between three fires, viz., Russians, Poles and Germans they have been careful enough to refrain from forming a policy before their fate is decided. Of course, they have learned from the past how unwise it is to anticipate events. To say that they are dissatisfied with the Russian oppressors would be but using a moderate expression. They have no other choice, and must remain quiet. In any case, they are doomed. A defeated Russia would make the Jews responsible for the defeat and organize pogroms on a large scale; should the Russians, however, be victorious, the Jews would be the first to suffer through a victorious Pan-Slavism and a Russian clericalism.

In the East, **THE OPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE CAUCASUS** expected a great deal from the Turkish invasion, but they also have been greatly disappointed with the course military events have taken, and they are certainly to-day less optimistic than they were five months ago. As things stand to-day, the fact that the Great Russians are encircled by foreign small nations has proved to be of advantage to the Great Russians themselves. These small nations have been weakened by the war economically and politically and have thus been literally brought between two fires. Not the soil of the Great Russians was invaded, but the soil of these small nations was the scene of these battles. The longer the war lasts, the more are the small nations weakened and crippled. But that is exactly what the Great Russians want. There is no hope to-day that Russia will be completely defeated and be compelled to yield parts of her territory to her foes. If things remain unchanged, even then the Great Russians will be the victors, not, of course, against the external foe, but against the "internal" foe; then the Great Russians will be able to resume their struggle against the foreign nations within the Russian Empire and the great tragedy will begin again.

(„The Evening Post", New York, Saturday, March 13.
1915. No. 99.

PROTESTS RUSSIAN RULE IN GALICIA.

Made by Representative of the Ruthenians in
the Austrian Parliament.

THEIR LANGUAGE FORBIDDEN.

Orthodox Religion Forced Upon Them —
Though Slavs, He Says, They Are Not
Russians, but Ukrainians.

A protest against Russian possession of the newly seized territory of Galicia by the armies of the Czar is made by Dr. K. L e w y t z k y j, President of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Delegation in Austria, in a communication to the „Journal de Geneve”.

“Eastern Galicia,” he says, “the northwest of Bukowina and the northeast of Hungary, are inhabited by 4,200,000 Ukrainians, (generally known in this country as Ruthenians.) More than 30,000,000 Ukrainians live in the Russian Governments of Cholm, Volhynia, Podolia, Cherson, Kieff, Tchernigoff, Poltava, Charkoff, Ekaterinoslav, Tauria, Kuban, and a part of the Governments of Bessarabia, Grodno, Minsk, Koursk, &c.

“These are not ‘Little Russians’. That name was imposed upon them by the Russian Government in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the Ukrainians inhabiting Austria did not begin to be called Ruthenians until the eighteenth century. The names of Ukraine and Ukrainians are the only ones in actual use among the ‘intellectuals’ of the nation over a territory of about 850,000 square kilometers, (about 328,185 square miles).

“The Ukrainians are not a branch of the Russian people. They are a nation as independent and as different from the Russians as the Poles or the Bulgars. Their great popular art and poetry are entirely original. The Ruthenian language is more different from Russian than Bohemian is from Polish. Because of the Ruthenians’ ignorance of Russian, which is the language exclusively used in the schools, there is a fearfully high proportion of illiterates in the Ukrainian provinces of Russia.

“Russia’s claims upon the Ukraine are justified only in so far as are those of France upon Germany, and vice versa. These latter States were once part of the empire of Charlemagne, as Russia and the Ukraine were of that of Vladimir the Great of Kieff. But Russia claims all of the old inheritance, and since the sixteenth century has been making a collection of Russian countries. The Ukrainians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries formed a warlike organization of the Cossacks of Zaporozhe, and in 1648 wrested their independence from the Poles. Menaced on every side, the young Ukrainian State in 1654 had to join itself to Russia as a tributary but autonomous State. But Russia betrayed the un-

suspecting Ukrainians. She divided the Ukraine with Poland, restricted the freedom which had been accorded to the country, Russified the Ukrainian Church, which had before been independent, and began a war of extermination against the language, customs, literature and culture of the Ukraine. In 1876 the Czar issued a decree forbidding the printing of any work in the Ruthenian language — a measure unexampled in history, which enslaved the second Slav nation for thirty years.

“Now the collectors of Russian countries have arrived in Eastern Galicia as its deliverers. For the Ukrainians of Galicia the Russian occupation is no doubt a liberation, but one from their national and political life. They are condemned by the Russians to national death. The Austrian Government has, as a matter of law, accorded to Ukrainians in Galicia the same guarantees as other Austrian nationalities. But in fact they have been oppressed by the more powerful Poles and have been hampered in their development. Notwithstanding all this, the Ukrainians in Galicia have been able to maintain their language in official usage, in the church, the schools, and in the university.

“The Russian invasion of Galicia destroyed at a blow all this work of many years. The Ruthenian language has been forbidden as an official medium of communication and in the services of the church and in the schools. All the Ruthenian newspapers in Galicia have been suppressed, the libraries destroyed, the Ruthenian books belonging to individuals confiscated, and the collections of the museums sent to Russia. All Ukrainian associations

have been dissolved. Hundreds of Galician notables of Ukranian nationality have been sent to Siberia.

“The United Greek Church, to which for more than two centuries all the Ruthenians of Eastern Galicia have belonged — which has become a national church — is now persecuted in every way. Its head, the Metropolitan Archbishop, Count Andrew Sheptytzki j, has been taken into the interior of Russia; many priests have been exiled, the people terrorized, and in their half-famished state converted by the aid of threats and promises by the Orthodox popes imported from Russia. In the United Greek and Catholic churches Orthodox masses are celebrated in accordance with the precept and example of Eulogius, Bishop of Volhynia, the celebrated proselytizer. Now they are beginning to transform by force the Catholic-Greek churches into Orthodox, because, they say, they were Orthodox two or three hundred years ago and ought to become so again.

“The introduction of Russian Orthodoxy, with its Russian sermons which are impossible of comprehension by the people, with the interdict of the mother tongue even in converse with God — is this really synonymous with ‘the return to the religion of our fathers?’ ”

(Reprinted from “The New York Times”, No. 20,937, May 22, 1915.)



WOMAN BEARS SWORD IN ARMY OF AUSTRIA.

Fräulein Olena Stepaniv is "Kadett-Aspirant Stepaniv" among the soldiers—Has won silver medal for courage and command of a small guard by her conduct.

While peace campaigns are being conducted in the name of women in many nations, at least one woman is revealing that, on the other hand, not all of her sex are unmoved by the active war spirit. Fräulein Olena Stepaniv, of Wisniowczyki in the Ukraine, is at the front with a regiment of Ukrainian sharpshooters in the Austrian army; and her conduct has won her the silver medal for courage and the command of a small company of men, with the rank of Kadett-Aspirant. She hopes to become regularly commissioned as an officer in the Austrian service. How she came to go to the front, and with what enthusiasm she has accepted the hardships and dangers of life as a fighter on equal terms with men, is told as follows by the „Ukrainisches Korrespondenzblatt" of Vienna:

“A few days ago there appeared in the office of our paper a young soldier, who, as

the blue and yellow rosette on his cap showed, was one of the Ukraine sharpshooters. He asked if we had any word of the Ukrainians who had fled out of Galicia. Instead of answering him, we all stared at him in wonder. We knew that there were very young, even eighteen, seventeen, and sixteen-year-old Ukraine sharpshooters; but this boy, with his childlike face... and more than that, already a Kadett-Aspirant.

“How old are you?” asked one of us after a moment.

“The soldier smiled. He knew already why we were staring at him so and why we asked his age. It was not the first, nor the second time that he had heard that question. Instead of answering about his age, he replied, smiling: ‘I am a girl.’ No one insulted him, or rather, her, with further questions. We knew what sort of person we had before us.

“Here we give other people the story of this young feminine sharpshooter, repeating information that a copy of the “Neue Wiener Tageblatt” brings:

“For several days there has been lodged in Vienna a young girl, who has undertaken service at the front in the Ukrainian legions, after overcoming manifold difficulties, out of love of the fatherland and the inward impulse to action, and who has received the silver medal for courage in recognition of her brave conduct in the field. Fräulein Olena Stepaniv—that is the name of the undaunted Amazon—reached the grade of Kadett-Aspirant, and hopes in secret that she may yet become an officer, if the difficulties can be overcome.

which her sex puts in the way of such an undertaking.

“This young feminine Kadett-Aspirant has been in the field since the outbreak of the war, and was detailed, after a short term of military instruction, with a band of men comrades of the Ukrainian legions, to a corps of the regular army, with which she did patrol duty before the works for the protection of the artillery, and also fired industriously at the side of her masculine comrades several times in the trenches, and took part with them in attacks by storm upon the positions of Russians troops. Fräulein Stepaniv remained unwounded, and is now taking advantage of a short Christmas leave of absence to search for her parents, who fled at the beginning of the war from their home in Wisniowczyki, where her father was a Greek-Catholic priest.

“Fräulein Stepaniv spent a Ukrainian Christmas Eve with her brother, who is with the Eightieth Infantry Regiment in Feldbach, as a one-year volunteer. Since her brother also had no word of their parents, Fräulein Stepaniv came to Vienna, where she will continue her search, in company with her brother-in-law, a field curate with the Twentieth Landwehr Regiment.

EARLY THOUGHT OF FIGHTING RUSSIA.

“One of the men of our staff had a lengthy conversation with Fräulein Stepaniv yesterday, in which the young Amazon described her experience in the battles in the Carpathians.

“After a happy and care-free childhood in my father’s rectory—so she began—‘during which I always practiced gymnastics zealously and followed sports of all kinds, I went, about a year ago, to the University at Lemberg to devote myself to the study of philosophy. I soon became known in the athletic circles of Lemberg, and later founded, together with a band of college women and men, the Ukrainian Sitschower Schützenverein. Even at the time of its founding we were led by the thought of some time taking part, weapon in hand, in a war for the liberating of the Ukrainians from the Russian yoke, and striking a blow for our Austrian fatherland.

“I had devoted myself to the affairs of the Schützenverein with considerable zeal, and thereby won quickly the regard and esteem of my masculine colleagues.

“Then, when the Ukrainian national council sounded the war drum in the first days of August, legionaries offered themselves as volunteers from all parts of our Ukrainian fatherland; it was clear to me that I too must get into the fight, whatever difficulties were put in my way.’”

ON EQUAL TERMS WITH MEN.

Finally, after various delays and attempts to put her in the sanitary service instead of allowing her to attain her desire to fight, Fräulein Stepaniv gained permission to accompany her colleagues of the Schützenverein to the front. She said:

“I lived during the strenuous march on equal terms with my comrades. No patrol, no watch was omitted for me; and that was

what I wanted... The commander of our company made me a column leader after a month; and I was appointed as instructor of a few newly enlisted legionaries. During a five-day rest in Szent-Miklos I brought my charges, by dint of persistence and zeal, to such a state of capability that Capt. B—praised me especially.

“As a subordinate officer I became commander of a patrol; and soon had opportunity to render worthy service in the battles in the Carpathians. In the pass at Viskov we first went under fire. In silence I greeted this first danger... From then on we were always put on serious and difficult service by the brigade commander. Now we were a protection for artillery, now advance guard, now rear guard, then from time to time a scout patrol.

“On the 10th of November our troop made a flank attack upon the heights of Komarnicka. The Russians were hurled back, and our Ukrainian legionaries had a good part in the success. I was selected for recognition, and Gen. F. presented to me the silver medal at Annaberg, with an address of praise, while the soldiers present at the celebration honored me by a parade. I could have cried with emotion; but although I am a woman, I wanted to avoid tears, and thanked them only with a formal military salute.

GIVEN COMMAND OF A GUARD.

“Soon after that I received command of a guard; and at the same time the rank of Kadett-Aspirant, with the sleeve-stripe on my arm as a mark. The brave and spirited soldiers

of my little command, followed out all my orders zealously, and made the task of leadership easy in all respects. I never had to enter the camp to upbraid or punish them; but I certainly would have done so if it had been necessary. Aside from danger, we had to endure great labors. We made forced marches, as, for example, when we laid 56 kilometres behind us in one day.... In the trenches I fired beside my brave companions, I believe, with accuracy; and nothing was more painful to me than to have them stare or marvel at me."

Kadett-Aspirant Stepaniv, says her interviewer, retained from the beginning to the end of her narrative a feminine shyness and modesty, blushed frequently during the story of the recognition of her courage, and turned away all praise with embarrassed laughter.

"I don't know why," she said, "but here in Vienna, among so many strangers and seeing so many women, I feel cramped, and become as helpless as a child. In the field among my comrades all that passes away. No one thinks of the fact that I am a woman, and I, too, forget it. On the 16th I shall return to my troop, and then once more"—she smiled—"I shall be a regular soldier."

Naturally, comments the article, Fräulein Stepaniv does not retain as a soldier her feminine name of Olena; but is enrolled as "Kadett-Aspirant Oleh Stepaniv"; and her comrades do not address her as "Fräulein," but as "Kamerad Kadett" or "Herr Kadett." She wears her uniform with a dash, and as if it were a matter of course. It is of rough commissary cloth, stained by dust and weather

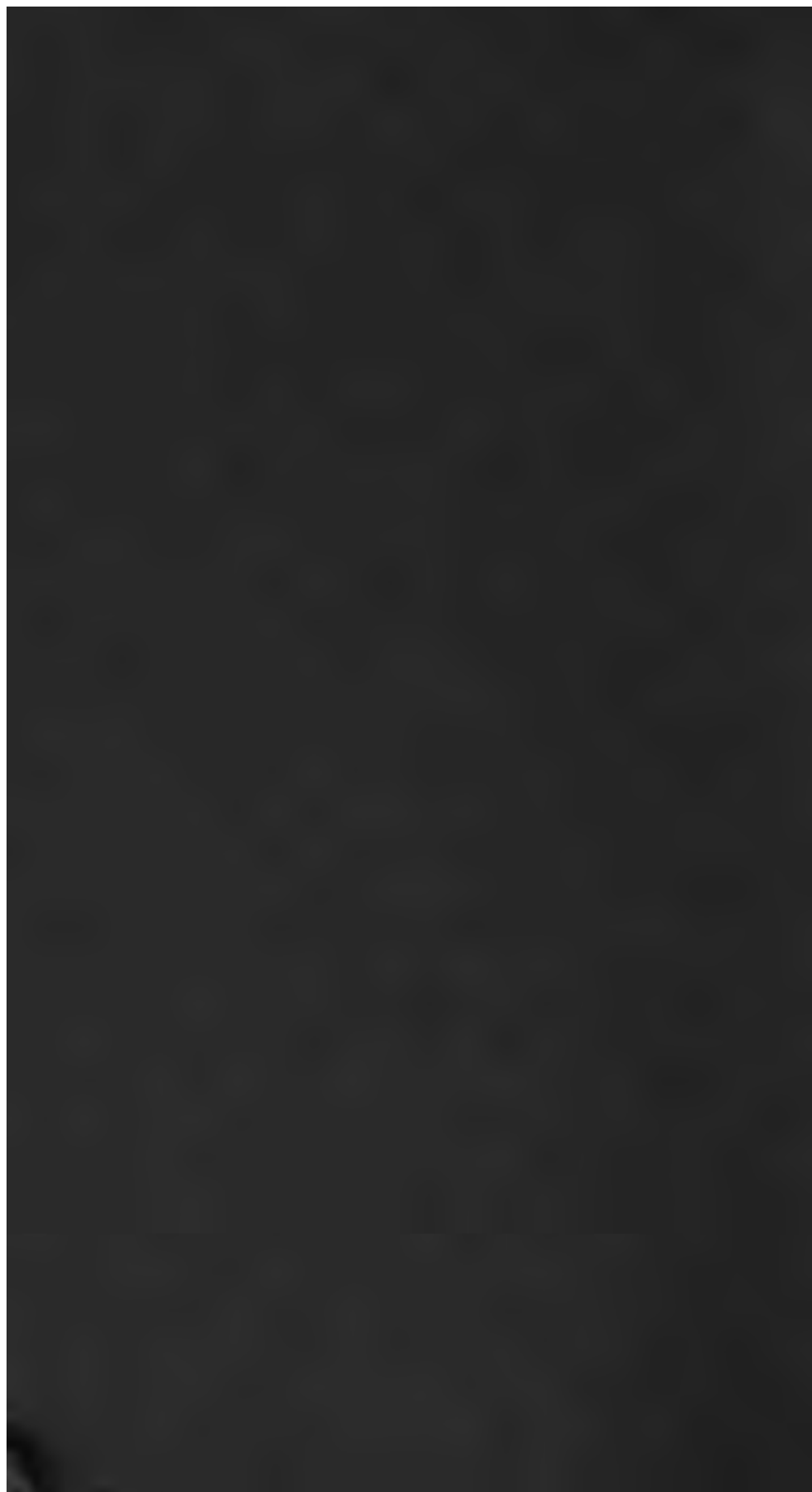
on long marches. With the full knee-trousers she wears tourist leggings and heavy commissary shoes, which nevertheless betray a small foot. From her shoulders hangs a rough tourist cloak. An infantry sabre swinks at her left side, and upon her small head, with short cropped blond hair, the gray infantry cap perches saucily.

On the street, Fräulein Stepaniv wraps herself in the regulation big gray soldier's cloak, made of heavy cloth, with green shoulder-straps. Only a few of the passers-by notice the handsome little Kadett-Aspirant. She greets with a military salute all the officers who pass her, and receives with thanks all the signs of honor which men and officers accord to her without hesitation.

(The New York Evening Post, Saturday, March 13. 1915.,
Nr. 99.)







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